CONTENTS

The "Rise of China" and Its Meaning to Chinese Americans
Huping Ling

Abstract

What lies ahead for Chinese Americans in the next two or three decades? The rapid speed of globalization, assisted by incessant development in the information technology industry, has ushered a new era for the world. In this new era, two super powers, the United States, often seen as a "declining" power, and China, widely hailed as an "ascending" power with a "gravity-defying economy," have become the obsession of experts, observers, pundits, and common people as well, when looking into the future of the world. How does one understand the "China ascent" versus "the U. S. decline" dichotomy? How will the new power balance impact Chinese Americans? And how will Chinese Americans, and everyone else, reposition themselves in the globalized world? This study will explore these intriguing questions.

Key words:

Chinese Americans, migration, transnationalism, globalization, China-US relationship

Anatomy of "Rise of China" and "Fall of the United States"

Although China has achieved an astonishing economic "miracle" in the past three decades, the phenomenal "rise of China" in recent years has been used more likely as a scare tactic in the Western world, especially in America. There, media, politicians, demagogues, and extremists have joined hands to effectively arouse the public anxiety and anger toward an external threat, real or imaginary, to be blamed for domestic problems such as the economic downturn, budget deficit, trade deficit, unemployment, and health care debate.

When looking into history, one finds this paranoia toward China's rise quite parallel with other historical phenomena. In the thirteenth century, the "yellow peril" of the Mongol power that swept Asia and Europe shook the world and left deep imprints in the collective memory of Europeans. More recently, the "red scare" of the Communism spreading in Asia and Europe following the World War II turned the United States hysteric and its government thus devised a "containment" policy to fend off Communist influence during the Cold War era. This containment mentality helped breed the madness of McCarthyism and the country's involvement in wars in Korea and Vietnam. Meanwhile in China, the "rise of China" has also been a popular buzz word in the recent decades, initially promoted by academics who have studied the rise of various industrial and military powers in the past, including Great

Britain, Germany, the United States, Japan, and now China, then propagated by the government propaganda machine to incite nationalistic sentiments among the Chinese populace.[1] It seems that the governments on both sides of the Pacific Ocean have employed China's rising economic power to serve a common need to maintain a domestic stability.

The "Rise of China"

How fast China is rising and how rapid the United States is declining thus become the growing concerns among the increasingly anxious Americans. It is important to explore the dichotomy-- the China rising and the U.S. declining. First, the rise of China is real and rapid, but not as threatening as prescribed by media, demagogues, and extremists. Since the 1980s, China's annual GDP growth had maintained at about 10 percent for over three decades. There has been a slow economic recovery from the worldwide recession since 2008 in the United States, Europe, and Japan, and a slowdown of China's economic growth since 2012. Even so, experts have predicted that China would surpass the United States as the largest economic power by 2030, according to a recent study "China 2030: Building a Modern, Harmonious, and Creative High-Income Society," a 468-page document compiled by the World Bank and the influential Chinese government research organization, Development Research Center in Beijing. The document forecasts that China's economy could grow by about 8 percent a year in the next few years and could sustain an average annual growth about 6.6 percent for nearly twenty years. The annual growth is more likely to slow down eventually to about 5 percent in the years leading to 2030. This growth margin, however, is more than enough for China to surpass the United States, which would have 2 to 3 percent annual growth during the same time period, as the world's biggest economy (World Bank, 2012).

Other signs of development further indicate China's rapidly growing economic power. China now has the longest high-speed rail trunks and the fastest trains in the world, with about 9,676 kilometers (6,012 miles) of routes in service as of June 2011.[2] The notable high-speed rail lines such as the Beijing-Shanghai High-Speed

---

[1] For instance, Beijing University sponsored a lecture series entitled "The Rise of Big Powers" in the 2000's.

[2] High-speed rail refers to any commercial train service in China with an average speed of 200 kilometers per hour (124 miles per hour) or higher.

Railway, a passenger dedicated trunk line opened in June 2011, reduced the 1,318 km (819 mile) journey between the two largest cities in China to under five hours, with top speed 300 km (186 mph) for the entire trip. The Shanghai Maglev Train (an acronym for "Magnet Levitation Train"), an airport rail link service between Pudong International Airport and the business district of Shanghai opened in 2004, travels 30 km (19 mi) in 7 minutes, averaging 240 km/h (149 mph) and reaching top speed of 431 km/h (268 mph).

Other miraculous feats are the pre-fabricated buildings built by the Broad Sustainable Building Company (BSB) in China, which boasts ability to construct high-rises in days. The company shocked the world by assembling a 15-story hotel in two days for the Shanghai World Exposition in 2010. In January 2012, the same company finished a 30-story five-starred hotel building in Changsha, Hunan Province in 15 days, a stunning example of China's construction boom. Even though most parts of the building (90 percent) are pre-made in factory, the efficiency rendered its western architectural counterparts speechless. It includes a swimming pool and a helicopter pad, as well as being earth-quake proof and ecology- and environment-friendly. The three-year-old company employed technologies already used in Western countries for some time, using the concept of factory-made building components, but with unique adaptations. BSB's system of pre-fabrication requires constructing segments of a building in advance in an indoor factory. The basic building blocks of a modern building, such as ventilation, water pipes, and electrical wiring, are pre-installed, and then uniformly stacked at the construction site and assembled like Lego blocks. The system promises to revolutionize the construction style by reducing the construction schedule by one-third or half, allowing the decrease of 20 to 30 percent construction costs through reduced construction times and greater efficiencies (Kaiman, 2012).

In education, Chinese students also stand out as the top performers in international standardized tests. On December 7, 2010, the Paris-based Organization for Economic Cooperation & Development (OECD), which represents 34 countries, released the 2009 Program for International Student Assessment (PISA). PISA is conducted every three years to the 15-year-old students in the participating countries and the OECD Executive Summary on each assessment is regarded as the most authoritative evaluation of the participating countries' effectiveness of educational system. The PISA 2009 test results indicate that the 15-year-olds from the Shanghai

region of China topped every country in all academic categories of mathematics, science, and reading. Singapore and Hong Kong-China ranked second and third respectively, while the 15-year-olds in the United States ranked 25th among peers from 34 countries on a math test and scored 17th in science and reading (OECD 2010). The results shocked American educational policy makers and educators. American Education Secretary Arne Duncan gasped that the results was a "massive wake-up call" and alerted that American students must improve to compete in a global economy. President Obama's administration also vowed to promote national curriculum standards and to revamp teacher pay, stressing performance rather than credentials and seniority (Hechinger, 2010).

More glamorous indicators such as hosting the major international events of World Olympics, International Expositions, and Asian Games also add to China's pride as an undeniable world economic power. In 2008, China hosted the Summer Olympics in Beijing, resulting from China' victory in July 2001 when Beijing was elected as the host city by the International Olympic Committee, beating the four competitors of Toronto, Paris, Istanbul, and Osaka. The centerpiece of the 2008 Summer Olympics was the National Beijing Stadium, nick-named "The Bird's Nest" because of its nest-like skeletal structure. The $423 million's cost, funded by the state-owned corporations demonstrated China's new economic power. Chinese athletes won the most gold medals and were second in the total medals after the United States. The 2008 Beijing Olympic Games have been generally accepted by the world media as a success. For the Chinese government, the Olympic events and the high ranking of medals won by Chinese athletes became great sources of national pride.

Similarly, Shanghai won the World Exposition 2010 bid. The 2010 Shanghai World Expo had the largest number of participating countries and was the most expensive Expo in the history of the world's fairs, with the largest world fair site ever at 5.28 square kilometers on both banks of the Huangpu River in Shanghai from May 1 to October 31 of the year. Two-hundred-fifty countries and international organizations participated and over 73 million people visited the site. The Expo introduced numerous urban best concepts and practices from all over the world, in a hope to promote a lasting legacy for better urban life in China and around the world, and to advocate for future development to focus on environmental sustainability, efficiency, and diversity. In the same year, the Asian Games was held in Guangzhou,

Guangdong province, China from November 12 to 27. Over nine thousand (9,704) athletes from 45 countries competed in 476 events from 42 sports and disciplines. The final medal tally was led by China, which set a record of 199 gold medals, followed by South Korea and third place Japan. The President of Olympic Council of Asia praised the games as "outstanding" and "one of the best ever." It was estimated that the total cost of the games was $17 billion.

Despite these shining promotional efforts, economists have sharply pointed out the complexity and uniqueness of the Chinese economy. China's economy bears a duality in a number of ways. Although over 90 percent of China's economy has been subjected to the market force, which economists normally would categorize as "capitalistic," the strategic sectors and infrastructure of China's economy are still under the tight grip of the state or state-owned conglomerate corporations. Chinese government has insisted that China's economy is a type of "socialism with Chinese characteristics" while the foreign observers have called it a "bureaucratic capitalism" or "capitalism without liberty." Regardless of the names, this heavy government control of economy has successfully guarded China from the recent regional or international economic crises of the Asian financial tsunami in 1997 and the worldwide recession beginning in 2008. For this reason, Western observers have regarded the Chinese economy as a "gravity-defying", "Chinese model" or a "third-way" between socialism and capitalism that is worth emulating (Lampton, 2009; Leonard, 2006; Mann, 2007; Shirk, 2008).

The drawbacks of the state monopoly, however, are also noticeably severe, ranging from rampant corruption, bribery, frauds, and nepotism among all levels of government bureaucracy to inequity of wealth distribution—wide gaps between coastal areas and hinterland regions, urban centers and rural villages, and the top one percent elite class and the massive populace. While China's economy has ranked as the second largest in the world at $7.3 trillion as of 2011 (trailing after the United States' $15 trillion), the per capita income of China was $5,184, ranked 90th of the world. China is still a middle-level income country.

The "Fall of the U.S."

Meanwhile, the fall of the United States is true but not as appalling as prescribed and fanned by the demagogues. There are clear and undeniable signs of the fall of the United States. The average annual GDP increase was 2.9 percent between 2002 and

2007, 2.2 percent in 2008, 1.1 percent in 2009, and 1.2 percent in 2010, according to the Bureau of Economic Analysis of the Department of Commerce in December 2011(Bureau of Economic Analysis of U.S. Department of Commerce, 2011). As of March 5, 2012, the U.S. national debt was approximately $15 trillion and the annual budget deficit was about $1.3 trillion or 8.7 percent of the total national budget (http://www.treasurydirect.gov/NP/BPDLogin?application=np). Unemployment rate was 9.6 percent in 2010, the highest in the post-World-War-II era, and remained in 8.2 percent in 2012 (Bureau of Labor Service, 2012). In education, as indicated in the previous section on the PISA test result, the U.S. 15-year-olds ranked 25th among peers from 34 countries on a math test and scored 17th in science and reading. This data prompted President Barack Obama to call for a world class education in the United States in order to compete in a globalized world on July 18, 2011:

> *A world-class education is the single most important factor in determining not just whether our kids can compete for the best jobs but whether America can out-compete countries around the world. America's business leaders understand that when it comes to education, we need to up our game. That's why we're working together to put an outstanding education within reach for every child (Obama, 2011).*

In the international affairs, the influence of the United States is gradually fading. One of the landmark events of the decline of American power occurred in the Libyan Revolution in February 2011, when the opposition force called for the ousting of the dictator Colonel Muammar Gaddafi, and the latter's security force fired on the crowd, thus leading to the Libyan Civil War. Obama administration decided not to take America's traditional role as a world leader in pressuring the Gaddafi government, but instead calling for a "shared responsibility" of leading nations of the world. This action has been dubbed as "Obama Doctrine" by the Republican Party, and has been used as evidence of the weakness of the Obama administration's foreign policy. In fact, facing huge government deficit and Americans' weary of further military involvement in the world Obama administration had no option but choosing multilateralism in world affairs.

The reduced American influence was further displayed in Obama administration's handling of two separate incidents involving Chinese citizens seeking American

protection from the Chinese government by taking refuge in American Embassy or consulate in China. The first incident occurred on February 6, 2012 when Wang Lijun, the Police Chief of the populous municipality of Chongqing, in Sichuan Province, suddenly ran into the American Consulate in Chengdu, claiming of possessing secret information of corruption involving high-ranking Chinese government officials in Chongqing and seeking political asylum in the United States. Under the pressure of the Chinese central government, the American consulate surrendered Wang in the following day, citing that Wang was not a human rights advocate therefore was not entitled to a protection from the United States (Hosenball, 2012).

Two months later, on April 28, Chen Guangcheng, a self-educated blind Chinese lawyer who had continuously exposed the coercive abortions and sterilizations by the Chinese government associated with its one-child policy, miraculously escaped his village home in Shandong Province, where he had been under house arrest and was watched around clock by over sixty government security officers and plain-cloth village police. Chen then took refuge at the American Embassy in Beijing, just a few days before the 4th US-China Strategic and Economic Dialogue in Beijing between May 3 and 4, 2012. This incident immediately caused a crisis in the Sino-US relationship and overshadowed the imminent Dialogue. To ensure the Dialogue's success as anticipated, the Obama administration dispatched Kurt Campbell, the Assistant Secretary of State for Asian and Pacific Affairs, to fly to Beijing on April 28 to handle the crisis. After the Chinese government pledged to guarantee the safety of Chen and his family, American diplomats escorted Chen to a hospital for medical treatment on May 2. Once again, the U.S. government succumbed to the Chinese pressure and surrendered Chen to the Chinese government. The handling disappointed Chinese human rights activists and enticed pointed criticism from the US Republicans (Klapper & Lee, 2012).

Regardless of all the alarming signs, writers have maintained that the fall of any superpower is a political, historical, biological, and natural cycle. Retrospectively, the talk of the "fall of the U.S." is nothing new and has always been used as a scare tactics by politicians and media in the contexts of international competitions, real or imaginary. In the wake of the socialist Bolshevik revolution in Russia in 1917, Communism, an ideology believed to be contagious and potentially dangerous, seemed to pose a challenge to the United States and the values of individual freedom and democracy cherished by the Western countries. Thus the threat led to

a crusade against the Communist influence in the United States. Under such "red scare" mentality, the Communist Party and the leftist movement in the country were crushed, the union movement suffered a backlash, and individuals, especially the Eastern and Southern European immigrants, suspected as Communist spies or sympathizers, were raided, persecuted, and denied access to an impartial justice system (as in the case of Sacco and Vanzetti).

From the moment the United States arose as the leader of the free world and an absolute superpower by the end of the World War II, it has never let its guard down against the Communist camp led by the USSR. The potential threat of the Communism continuously fanned cries of the fall of the United States in the Cold War time. As ample studies and media reports revealed the educational, cultural, athletic, and scientific advances made by the USSR, political and academic discussions were preoccupies with talks of the signs of the U.S. decline.

The fear of the decline of the United States was not only directed to the USSR, which dissolved in 1991, but also to Japan, which emerged as a potential enemy and a real trade foe of the United States in the 1980s. Consequently, the decades of the 1980s and 1990s were devoted to the studies of Japan and especially its business management "secrets". Throngs of students and scholars of business management traveled to Japan, looked for reasons behind its economic success, and then produced academic essays on how to compete with the Japanese upon returning to the U.S (Johnson, 1992). Unfortunately, the country of the "Rising Sun" turned into a "Falling Sun" after the burst of its bubble economy following the Asian financial tsunami in the early 1990s, and has never really recovered from it. The devastating Fukushima Daiichi nuclear crisis triggered by the Tohoku earthquake and tsunami on March 11, 2011 has thrown the country once again into another economic recession.

On the other hand, China has enjoyed an uninterrupted, over three-decade-long economic growth, with an annual GDP growth rate of 10 percent. This unprecedented economic surge not only uplifted its population of billions out of poverty but also surpassed Japan in GDP in 2009, officially making China the world's second largest economy. As discussed earlier, even with a slower annual economic growth of 5 percent, China could surpass the United States in 2030 or earlier (one estimate is 2017) by the Western observers' prediction. Now the fall of the United States is real and imminent!

What shall we do? The United States may fall, but the sky is not falling. The United States can still survive and even bounce back from the fall. All empires,

as the Harvard historian Niall Ferguson notes, no matter how magnificent and powerful they might have been, are inclined to decline and fall. Like all empires, the United States cannot escape the rule, despite Americans' wishful belief of the American "exceptionalism." Any civilization, like a seasonal cycle, always ends in bitter winter. Ferguson further insists that neo-cyclical theories find a few conditions lead to the fall of a superpower. First, when leaders fail to respond to challenges, empire declines. Second, when great powers overstretch, they collapse. Ferguson argues that a "self-organizing complexity system" is the major cause of the fall of the U.S. The huge U. S. fiscal deficits did not result from the country's international military actions, but from its heavy domestic burdens of Medicaid/Medicare and Social Security programs (Australia Broadcasting Corporation, 2010; Furguson, 2005, p. 28). It has been a widely-circulated knowledge that for every dollar of the federal budget in 2010, 59 cents are spent on the entitlement programs, including unemployment (16 cents), Medicaid (8 cents), Medicare (16 cents), and Social Security (19 cents), while 18 cents are spent on defense spending including overseas operations, leaving only 23 cents for everything else.

Importance of Global Collaboration and Various Prescriptions

The rise of China and other emerging economies in Asia and the decline of the United States are a direct consequence of the globalization. Ample writers have eloquently argued on both the positive and negative impacts of the globalization. On the positive side, globalization makes the world flatter and smaller. Cultural and economic gaps among peoples and nations become narrower, although globalization benefits developed countries more than developing countries. Meanwhile globalization also causes negative consequences, such as global economic crisis, downsizing and outsourcing of economy, widespread public anxiety, and rise of extremist movements in developed countries, such as Tea Party and birthers movements in the United States, and polarization in developing countries due to corruption, lack of democratic governing structure, lack of effective legal system and civic sense, and cultural baggage (Friedman, 2000, 2005; Chua, 2004).

Globalization has also made countries more dependent on one another, and the big powers need each other. Princeton professor of political science Aaron L. Friedberg eloquently argues about the importance of the global collaboration between the big powers, especially between the United States and China:

> **If tensions between the two Pacific powers worsen, the whole of eastern Eurasia could become divided in a new cold war, and the prospects for confrontation and conflict would seem certain to rise. On the other hand, a deepening U.S.-China entente could bring with it increased possibilities for sustained worldwide economic growth, the peaceful resolution of outstanding regional disputes, and the successful management of pressing global problems, including terrorism and the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction. Whether for good or ill, the most significant bilateral international relationship over the course of the next several decades is likely to be that between the United States and the PRC (Firedberg, 2005, p.8).**

However, he cautions that the relationship between the two superpowers would continue to be "constrained competition," as both are preparing for a possible future confrontation.

One of the most provocative prescriptions is "Chinmerica," a term coined by Niall Ferguson in 2007. It emphasizes the collaboration of the two economic powers, as globalization makes economies of nations interconnecting, interactive, and entangled. According to this theory, the relationship between China and America will be the most important factor in understanding world economy, and China and America will be considered as one economy—Chinmerica. The Chinmerica accounts for a quarter of the world's population, a third of its gross domestic product, and over half of global economic growth between 2003 and 2009 (Ferguson, 2009). The mutual benefits and mutual engagement between the two countries will determine the relationship between the two major powers.

The Yale senior researcher Immanuel Wallerstein, an internationally renowned analyst, has made a similar observation. The realization of the need of geopolitical power balance from both China and the United States dictates both sides to be cautious in maintaining a positive relationship. He summarizes the China-US relationship pointedly in a commentary he wrote on January 15, 2012: "Are China and the United States rivals? Yes, up to a point. Are they enemies? No, they are not enemies. Are they collaborators? They already are more than they admit, and will be much more so as the decade proceeds." (Wallerstein, 2012)

Furthermore, the need for world peace (to curb global imbalance) is making collaboration of multilateral powers more important, thus replacing the past

bipolar geopolitical confrontations between two opposing international alliances or two super powers, such as Alliance versus Axis during the World War II, and the capitalist camp versus the communist camp during the Cold War era. The rise of Asia and fall of the United States would make power balance more depend on the cooperation and collaboration among the multiple powers in Asia (China, Japan, and India), in Europe (Russia and the European Union), and in North America (the United States and Canada). The latter two powers constitute the "Greater West." The Greater West should have positive relation with Asia, especially with China (Zakria, 2012). Writers also noted that America's leadership in the geopolitical affairs could only succeed through collaboration with other nations (Chua, 2007, p. 341). Thus, multilateralism has become a much hailed approach in dealing with international conflicts, as opposed to unilateralism, which the United States practiced and enjoyed in the post-Cold War era until September 11, 2001 when fundamental Islamic terrorists attacked the World Trade Center in New York.

The prize-winning author Thomas Friedman analyses globalization through contrasting it with the Cold War. Globalization, he believes, is a new world system following the Cold War era. While the Cold War's overarching feature was division and its structure of power balance was between the United States and the U.S.S.R., the globalization system has its own overarching feature of integration and its own defining structure of power, but which is much more complex than the Cold War structure. While the Cold War system was built exclusively around nation-state, the globalization is driven by free-market capitalism and is built around three balances—the traditional balance between nation-states, the balance between nation-states and global markets, and the balance between individuals and nation-states (Friedman, 2000).

Friedman's "three balances" theory could offer some guidance when we think about how to position the United State as a nation-state under globalization. As globalization has its own inherently empowering and humanizing aspects and its inherently disempowering and dehumanizing aspects, it is important to make certain that the world is aware that the advancement of human life in some aspects and some areas is leading the declines in some other aspects and other areas. No nation has a greater responsibility and opportunity to ensure this than the United States. According to Friedman, to maintain the balances, the United States needs to develop the politics for the age of globalization, that is to understand the globalization as a technology-driven phenomenon (not a trade-driven one), and then develop a new

"social bargain" between workers, financiers and governments, which would ensure the sustainable globalization by democratizing globalization—making it work for more and more people all the time. Friedman terms the system as "Integrationist Social-Safety-Nettism" (Friedman, 2000). This system sounds wonderful in theory, but it is nearly impossible to practice it. As noted in earlier section, already under heavy debts of $15 trillion, how does the US government fund, let alone expand, these entitlement schemes?

New Trends of Migration and Assimilation under Globalization

There have been a number of new trends of migration and assimilation under globalization. First, in terms of immigration destinations, the United States will continue as a major receiving country, but facing competition from other developed countries. Second, China, India, Pakistan, Philippines, and Vietnam will remain as major countries of immigrant sources. Third, competition for highly-skilled immigrants among the immigration destination countries has intensified. Fourth, new patterns of residence and citizenship have emerged, as assimilation to American identity becomes less important. And finally, globalization poses both new opportunities and challenges to Asian Americans.

Immigration Destinations: The U.S. Continues as a Major Immigrant Receiving Country, but Faces Competition

Globalization and the current international geo-economic-political conditions will, as always, determine the new magnets of the global human movement. It is highly likely that the United States will continue to be the top choice of new immigrants, but it has faced competition from Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and a number of European countries.

Immigration in general is a deliberate and planned individual action responding to the deteriorating socioeconomic conditions in the sending countries, and the perceived better socioeconomic conditions and immigration laws in the receiving countries. As the United States still remains as the strongest economic and military power in the world, with vast territory and rich natural resources, higher living standard, cleaner environment, quality education, advanced communication systems, and a stable democratic political system, it continues as one of the most desirable immigration destinations. However, other developed countries such as Canada,

Australia, and New Zealand that are comparable in these attributes have in the recent decades competed with the United States as desirable migration destinations. In 2008, about 1.9 million Chinese immigrants were admitted to the United States, 1.5 million to the European countries, 850,000 to Canada, and 600,000 to Australia and New Zealand, according to the Chinese government estimates (Wang & Zhuang, 2010, p.12). On April 20, 2012, Gallup released its survey on world potential migration. The survey shows that 13 percent of the world's adult population, or 640 million people, intend to emigrate, among whom 23 percent, or 150 million, are interested in migrating to the United States. Potential migrants, who said they would like to move to the United States, were most likely to come from populous countries such as China (22 million), Nigeria (15 million), India (10 million), Bangladesh (8 million), or Brazil (7 million). Gallup's Potential Net Migration Index (PNMI) suggests that Singapore, New Zealand, Canada, Australia, and the United States lead the rank of the most desirable destinations for migration. Since 2007 when Gallup started polling the potential migration trend, the United States has remained as a top desired destination. It however has continued to place farther down the list, after Singapore, Canada and several other developed nations. It is important to keep in mind that a country's population size affects how high or low its index score is and its ranking (http://www.gallup.com/poll/153992/150-Million-Adults-Worldwide-Migrate.aspx). In addition, the less restrictive immigration and naturalization policies in these countries have also made them equally if not more attractive than the United States. These countries have either points system for immigrant admission or work visa programs that are not subject to immigration quotas.

Meanwhile, globalization has broadened the choices of migration destination, Chinese immigrant communities can be found in every corner of the world. In 2008, there were approximately over 10 million Chinese emigrated China. Among them, Southeast Asian countries, due to their proximity to China, hold the largest number of 2.5 million or 25 percent of the total Chinese emigrants in that year. The United States (1.9 million), Canada (850,000), Japan (750,000), Australia and New Zealand (600,000) were the preferred destinations for students and professionals, as well as unskilled laborers. European countries attracted primarily entrepreneurs and unskilled laborers (1.5 million). Meanwhile, Latin American countries (750,000) and Russia (200,000) also drew substantial Chinese small entrepreneurs. African countries attracted 500,000 Chinese small entrepreneurs, technicians, and unskilled

laborers (Wang & Zhuang, 2010, p.12).

Immigration Sources: China, India, Pakistan, Philippines, and Vietnam as Major Sending Countries

In the next decades, Asia will continue as a major source of immigration to the United States. Since 1965, more Asian immigrants have entered the United States, only trailing after their counterparts from Latin America. The number of Asian immigrants had increased steadily, from 201,412 in the 1960s to 1.3 million in the 1970s, 2.4 million in the 1980s, 2.6 million in the 1990s, and 3.1 million in the 2010s (Yang, 2011). This trend will likely to continue thanks to a number of factors. First, the economic disparity between many of the Asian countries and the United States remains a major pushing force behind the exodus from Asia. At the same time, Asian countries have few emigration restrictions. Furthermore, the continued need in the United States for skilled laborers, especially highly trained professionals, and capital from overseas will attract immigrants from many Asian countries with over-supplies of highly-trained professionals. The ongoing military, diplomatic, commercial, and cultural interactions between many Asian countries and the United States will also facilitate the Asian immigration to America. Thus, new immigrants will continue to come from populous Asian countries of China, India, Pakistan, Philippines, and Vietnam, including working class immigrants, students, and "investment immigrants" with capital.

Competition for Highly-Skilled Immigrants Intensifies

The competition for skilled immigrants in the recent decades is most notably intensified between the two major immigrant receiving countries in the North America—the United States and Canada. While the immigration policies of the United States since 1965 are primarily based on the principle of family reunification, as 74 percent of the annual immigration quota goes to preferences pertinent to family reunification, the Canadian immigration admission policies are based on four principles—demographic, economic, social, and humanitarian, admitting economic class, family class, and refugee migrants. The establishment of the points system in 1967 in particular has placed primary focus on certain categories when valuing human capital, categories such as age, education, credentials, official language proficiency, and Canadian experiences and connections. These policies have placed

more emphasis on skilled migration than family reunification.

Further, to address the declining economic performance of the skilled immigrants in Canada, the Canadian government passed the Immigration and Refugee Protection Act in 2002 to adjust the selection criterion of skilled immigrants. The new law consists of two major changes: it raises the total number of points required for entry from 70 to 75 (out of 100), and it emphasizes language, formal education, and prior experience in the labor market. These new criteria contributed to the increased number of skilled immigrants from India, which remained the top immigrant-sending country to Canada between 2008 and 2010, when the Filipinos surpassed the former (Li & Lo, 2012).

To respond to the global competition for talents, the United States tripled the worldwide annual quota for employment-based immigrants to 140,000 in its 1990 Immigration Act. It further creates an H-1B visa category as a three-year temporary work visa program for skilled immigrants with college and post-graduate education, and the H-1B visa holders are eligible for applying for permanent residency. This program has been quickly utilized mostly by Chinese and Indian immigrants. The ongoing immigration reform debates in the United States have discussed possibilities to revamp the immigration admission system to better serve the nation's need for highly skilled migrants by adopting the Canadian-, Australian-, and New Zealand-style points system (Holzer, 2011; West, 2011).

On the other shore of the Pacific Ocean, the Chinese government has also sped up in the global race for brains. The Changjiang xuezhe jiangli jihua, or Yangtze River Scholar Award Program, the most prestigious scholarship program under the authority of the Chinese Ministry of Education with matching funds from Hong Kong Li Jiacheng (Li Ka-shing) Foundation, was initiated in August 1998 to recruit pre-eminent Chinese scholars overseas. The Yangtze River Scholars are promised with attractive compensations and research funding to teach and conduct research at the Chinese universities, where they are hired for a three-year term as a "Changjiang Scholar." From its inception to the end of 2008, 1,308 Chinese scholars overseas, primarily from the United States, Canada, Australia, the United Kingdom and the major European countries, and mostly in the fields of science, technology, engineering, and mathematics, had been hired by 115 universities in China (http://www.changjiang.edu.cn/news/10/10-20090715-247.htm).

Since the mid-1990s, with China's remarkable economic success and the

steady rise in the global geopolitical stage, increasing numbers of overseas Chinese student-turned-professionals have returned to China, commonly nicked-named as Haigui in Chinese (meaning "overseas returnees," but it puns with "sea turtle" in Chinese, therefore being called haigui, "sea turtles" in Chinese). In 1990, 1,593 Chinese students who received advanced training overseas returned to China. The number increased to 5,750 in 1995, 9,121 in 2000, 34,897 in 2005, and 108,300 in 2009. The number of returned students and scholars reached more than 632,000 in 2010 (People's Daily Online, 2009). Moreover, a large number of student migrants returned without settling down in China, but frequently traveling between China and the country of their immigration, thus commonly known as Kongzhong Feiren in Chinese meaning "astronauts." A 2008 survey of Chinese returnees reveals that 34 percent of them held American permanent residency or citizenship, indicating a changing meaning of immigration and assimilation (Liu, 2012).

New patterns of residence and citizenship: assimilation to American identity becomes less important

As discussed in the previous section, assimilation to American culture may have become less attractive to transnational world citizens. Laws and practices of dual citizenship would enable new immigrants to reside, work, and participate in voting in more than one country. Scholars have consequently proposed such concepts as "flexible citizenship" or "selective citizenship" to delineate the new phenomenon. They maintain that "the multiple-passport holder is an apt contemporary figure; he or she embodies the split between state-imposed identity and personal identity caused by political upheavals, migration, and changing global markets" and "nationality is a simple product of the political world in which one is to be registered and administered (guanxia), and it is not identical with their personal identity and cultural belonging" (Ong, 1999, p.2; Liu, 2012, pp. 55-56).

In fact the attractiveness of assimilation was already under attack since the 1970s, when ethnicity and multicultural identities grew more popular. For instance, in Southeast Asia, many Chinese have identified themselves as local nationals of Chinese descent since World War II, and they have been expected to be assimilated into the local societies. However, since the 1970s many individuals, who once identified themselves linguistically and culturally as Thai, Filipino, or some other Southeast Asian nationalities, have increasingly emphasized their Chinese identity,

joined the Chinese cultural associations, and tried to teach their offspring Mandarin (Moya & McKeown, 2011). Numerous studies have noted the similar situation among the Chinese communities in North America, New Zealand, Europe, Africa, and everywhere else (Ling, 2012; Li, P. 2003; Ip, 2011; Li, A. 2000; Li, M. 1995).

Further, more individuals would enter the United States as tourists but overstay their visas and become undocumented migrants. In 2000, 700 million tourist entries were recorded, compared to 480 million in 1990 and 300 million in 1980 (Moya & McKeown, 2011). Distinction between travel and migration has been increasingly blurred. Still more new immigrants continue to maintain citizenship of the sending countries and residences in both the United States and sending countries, and in third countries. A recent demographic trend also indicates that many Asian American retirees have relocated to their Asian sending countries for the reasons of better and less expensive medical care, cheaper housing, and lower cost of domestic services (Chen & Li, 2011).

New Opportunities and Challenges Facing Chinese Americans

It is very likely that the rapid development in the information technology (IT) industry prompted by computer technology and globalization has presented Asian Americans with more socioeconomic opportunities. In the so-called "knowledge economy," Asian Americans are finding more employment. With higher concentration in college degrees associated with STEM (Science, Technology, Engineering, and Mathematics), Asian Americans in the recent decades have found more employment in the IT industry (Chiang, 1994; Park & Harrison, 1995). The number of Asian Americans working in IT increased from 170,771 in 2000 to 171,150 in 2010, while the general American population employed in IT declined from 3,996,564 to 3,015,521 during the same time period (Census, 2010). The popular image of Asian Americans as academic and occupational successes further strengthened.

On the cultural front, the rapid expanding of Confucius Institutes in the United States and Canada indicates the growing interest in Chinese culture and a consequential friendlier socioeconomic climate for Chinese Americans. The first Confucius Institute was opened in Seoul on November 21, 2004. In the same year, an institute also opened at the University of Maryland. In the initial years, the institutes were usually opened at state universities or regional colleges in the United States. However, following the Chinese President Hu Jintao's October 2007

speech to the 17th Chinese Communist Party Congress, in which he said China must enhance its culture as "part of the soft power" of the country, the program grew rapidly in scope and ambition. Under the auspices of the Chinese Ministry of Education, a special agency called the Office of Chinese Language Council International, colloquially Hanban, was established and directly involved in the management of the program. Hanban estimated that by 2012, there would be 500 Confucius Institutions worldwide. It aims to establish 1,000 institutions by 2020. Hanban generally promises each Confucius Institute in the United States $100,000 a year, along with teaching materials, to promote the teaching of Chinese language, as well as cultural exchange.

The economic downturn since 2008 had made the Chinese offer associated with the establishment of Confucius Institutes more attractive. Many private universities have joined the ranks to approve the opening of the institutes. The University of Pennsylvania, once a staunch critic of the institute, passed the proposal to open a Confucius Institute in 2012. At the same time, Stanford University welcomed it at its campus, so did Columbia University and the London School of Economics. By early 2012, there were 350 Confucius Institutes worldwide among 96 nations or regions, but mostly located in North America and Europe. In the United States, there are 70 institutes as of 2012. It is estimated that about 30 million non-Chinese people are learning Chinese around the world. However, the critics remain suspicious and worry about the influence of the Chinese institute on campuses (Guttenplan, 2012).

The rapid economic development in Asia also increased the chances for Asian Americans to have higher voices in American politics. The recent decades saw increased Asian American representation at all levels of politics and legislatures. The appointment of two Asian American cabinet members during Obama administration, Steven Chu as Secretary of Department of Energy and Gary Locke as Secretary of the Department of Commerce in 2009, and the latter as American Ambassador to China in 2011, were only the most high profile political participation of Asian Americans. At the state and local level, more Asian Americans have been incorporated into the main stream political structure, as indicated in Table 1.

Table 1

Asian American Representation-2007 Totals	
Federal Senators	2
Federal Representatives	4
State Senators	62
State Representatives	85
State Elected Officials	4
State Governors	5
Lieutentant Governors	4
City Mayors	24
City Councilmembers	121
Judges	306
School Board and Higher Education Officials	275

Source: Don T. Nakanishi and James S. Lao eds., 2007-2008 National Asian Pacific American Political Almanac (Los Angeles: UCLA Asian American Studies Center, 2007), 82-83.

Globalization at the same time also posed new challenges to Chinese Americans. To better position themselves in the increasingly globalized socioeconomic environment and the rising economies in Asia, Chinese Americans have realized the importance of knowing Asian culture and the ability to speak one's ancestral language, especially the Chinese as it is becoming the "official language" in Asian region. As documented in numerous studies, learning Chinese in a non-Chinese speaking environment is a formidable task for Chinese American children and their parents. Even with years of study at the weekend ethnic language schools, many Chinese American youth found themselves not proficient in their ancestral languages and had to relearn them by enrolling in Chinese language classes at colleges (Ling, 2007).

The increased opportunities for working or traveling between the United States and other countries produced many trans-migrants or so-called "astronauts," individuals flying back and forth between the United States where their families dwell and Asian countries where they work. The transnational split family life has in recent decades presented challenges to the generally more stable family structure of many Asian American families. Although no statistics are available yet, there has been evidence of a rise in the divorce rate and the growing extra marital affairs

among the transnational split families. Numerous real or fictional stories of marriage dissolution are circulating in the Chinese language media, and in the circle of trans-migrants and their virtual communities such as Chinese News Digest or Haiguinet. com (Chen & Yang, 2011).

Furthermore, the transnational lifestyle also raises issues concerning trans-migrant children's education, dual/multiple residences, dual citizenship/nationality, and split identity/loyalty to sending country/receiving country. Many returnees found themselves frustrated by the problem of lack of appropriate schooling for their children in Asian countries. They further face challenges from government administrative restrictions. Without local registration identity, they are constrained in myriad aspects of life, including housing, children's education, and limited access to research facilities and funding. To deal with the situation, many Chinese returnees, while holding American passports or permanent residency cards, continue to maintain and renew their Chinese Registration Identity Card, thus having virtual "dual citizenship." Meanwhile, many transnational Asian Americans with legitimate dual citizenship participate in the vote in both countries, practicing a "flexible citizenship" and remaining loyal to both host and sending countries (World Journal, August 12, 2010; July 4, 2011; July 05, 2011; November 6, 2011).

Economic difficulties resulting from out-sourcing and the economic downturn since 2008 may have also caused feelings of anxiety and anger toward Chinese Americans, which would lead to violence or hate crimes against Chinese Americans, and there might be possible repeats of "Vincent Chin," a Chinese American in Detroit who was beaten to death by two Euro-Americans in June 1982. The death of Danny Chen proves the concern legitimate. On October 3, 2011, Private Danny Chen, a 19 year-old Chinese American from New York, was found dead (apparently a suicide) in a guard tower on an American outpost in Afghanistan. The officials revealed that Private Chen had been subjected to physical abuse and ethnic slurs such as "chink," "dragon lady" and "gook" by supervisors, who one night dragged him out of bed and across the floor when he failed to turn off a water heater after showering (Semple, 2012).

On June 23, 2012, the 30th anniversary of the Vincent Chin murder, Asian American communities in over thirty cities organized a mega "Google Hangout" to commemorate the event and to call for Asian Americans to be vigilant against hate crimes and discriminatory reactions to them under globalization. Featuring a

number of high profile Asian American politicians and activists, the event discussed hate crimes and bullying. In light of recent tragedies like the extreme hazing and subsequent death of Private Danny Chen and the continuing effects of 9/11, the event asked what Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders can do to stand up against racism and discrimination.

Conclusion

The rise of China and the decline of the United States are inherent/ necessary/ inevitable consequences of globalization which help equilibrate the distribution of the wealth of the world. Globalization is gradually removing the natural as well as artificial barriers attributing to the gaps between the developed and developing countries, and between the one percenter and the ninety-nine percenters. Both the rise of China and the decline of the United States will slow down until they reach their respectively proper places in the world equilibrium. Although the situation is still murky, it will become clear in the decades to come. In the meanwhile, governments and individuals should reposition themselves to best adjust to the new world system.

References

Australia Broadcasting Corporation. (2010). Niall Ferguson: Empire on the Edge of Chaos. Retrieved from http://fora.tv/2010/07/28/Niall_Ferguson_Empires_on_the_Edge_of_Chaos#chapter_02

Bureau of Economic Analysis of U.S. Department of Commerce. (2011). U.S. Economy at a Glance: Perspective from the BEA Accounts. Retrieved from http://www.bea.gov/newsreleases/glance.htm

Bureau of Labor Service. (2012). Current Population Survey, Household Annual Average Data, 1. Employment status of the civilian noninstitutional population, 1940 to date. Retrieved from http://www.bls.gov/cps/cpsaat1.pdf

Chen, Y. & and Li, R. (2011, July 5). Chinese Immigrants Make Waves for Returning to Taiwan. World Journal.

Chen, Y. & Yang, Q. (2011, August 22). Transmigrant Families Pay High Prices for the Life Style. World Journal.

Chiang, R. A. (1994). Chinese American Undergraduates' Choice of College Major: A Social-Structural Analysis Using Blau's Occupational Choice Model. Ph.D. diss., New York University.

Chua, A. (2004). World on Fire: How Exporting Free Market Democracy Breeds Ethnic Hatred and Global Instability. New York: Anchor Books.

Chua, A. (2007). Day of Empire: How Hyperpowers Rise to Global Dominance—and Why They Fall. New York: Anchor Books.

Ferguson, N. (2005). Colossus: The Rise and Fall of the American Empire. New York: Penguin.

Ferguson, N. (2009, January/February). What 'Chimerica' Hath Wrought. American Interest Online. Retrieved from http://www.the-american-interest.com/article.cfm?piece=533.

Friedberg, A. L. (2005, Autumn). "The Future of U. S.-China Relations: Is Conflict Inevitable?" International Security, 30 (2): 7-45.

Friedman, T. L. (2000). The Lexus and the Olive Tree: Understanding Globalization. New York: Anchor Books.

Friedman, T. L. (2005). The World Is Flat: A Brief History of the Twenty-first Century. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux.

Hechinger, J. (2010, December 7). U.S. Teens Lag as China Soars on International Test. Retrieved from http://www.bloomberg.com/news/2010-12-07/teens-in-u-s-rank-25th-on-math-test-trail-in-science-reading.html

Holzer, H. J. (2011). Immigration Policies and Less-Skilled Workers in the United States. Washington, D.C.: Migration Policy Institute. Retrieved from http://www.migrationpolicy.org/pubs/Holzer-January2011.pdf

Hosenball, M. (2012, April 21). Analysis: Did U.S. Fumble Chance to Peer inside China's Secretive Leadership? Reuters.

Ip, M. ed. (2011). Transmigration and the new Chinese: Theories and practices from the New Zealand experience. Hong Kong: Hong Kong institute for humanities and social sciences, University of Hong Kong.

Guttenplan, D. D. (2112, March 4). Critics Worry about Influence of Chinese Institutes on U.S. Campuses. New York Times

Johnson, C. (1992, Fall). Japan in Search of a "Normal" Role. Daedalus, 121 (4): 1-33.

Kaiman, J. K. (2012, March 7). Chinese Company Builds 30-story Building in 15 days. Los Angeles Times.

Klapper, B. & Lee, M. (2012, April 28). Blind Lawyer's Escape to Overshadow US-China Talks. Associated Press.

Lampton. D. M. (2009). Three Faces of Chinese Power: Might, Money and Mind. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Li, A.李安山(2000). Feizhou huaqiao huarenshi 《非洲華僑華人史》 [A History of Chinese Overseas in Africa] Beijing: Zhingguo huaqiao chubanshe 中國華僑出版社 [Chinese Overseas Publishing Company].

Li, M.李明歡(1995). Dangdai haiwai huaren shetuan yanjiu 《當代海外華人社團研究》 [Contemporary Overseas Chinese Community Organizations] (Xiamen, China: Xiamen daxue chubanshe 廈門大學出版社 [Xiamen University Press].

Li, P. (2003). Destination Canada: Immigration Debates and Issues. Toronto: Oxford University Press.

Li, W. & Lo, L. (2012, February). New Geographies of Migration? A Canada-U.S. Comparison of Highly Skilled Chinese and Indian Migration. The Journal of Asian American Studies, 15 (1): 1-34.

Leonard., A. (2006, September 15). No Consensus on the Beijing Consensus, Neoliberalism with Chinese characteristics? Or the Long-lost Third Way? Salon.

Ling, H. (2007). Voices of the Heart: Asian American Women on Immigration, Work, and Family. Kirksville, MO: Truman State University Press.

Ling, H. (2012) Chinese Chicago: Race, Transnational Migration, and Community Since 1870. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Liu, L. (2012). Return Migration and Selective Citizenship," the Journal of Asian American Studies, 15 (1): 35-68.

Mann, J. (2007, May 20). A Shinning Model of Wealth Without Liberty. Washington Post.

Moya, J. C. & McKeown, A. (2011). World Migration in the Long Twentieth Century. In Michael Adas Essays on Global and Comparative History (ed.). Washington, DC: American Historical Association.

Obama, President Barack. (2011, July 18). Retrieved from http://www.whitehouse.Gov/ Issues/Education,

Ong, A. (1999). Flexible Citizenship: The Cultural ogics of Transnationality. Durham: Duke University Press.

Organization of Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) (2010). PISA 2009 Results: Executive Summary.

Park, S. E. & Harrison, A. A. (1995). Career Related Interests and Values, Perceived Control and Acculturation of Asian American and Caucasian College Students. Journal of Applied Social Psychology, 25: 1184-1203.

People's Daily Online. (2009, March 26). Chinese Students Studying Abroad Exceed 1.39 Million. Retrieved from http://english.people.com.cn/90001/90776/90882/ 6622888.html

Perlez, J. & Lafraniere, S. (2012, May 2). Chinese Dissident Is Released From Embassy, Causing Turmoil for U.S. New York Times.

Quinn A. & Blanchard, B. (2012, May 2). China Dissident "to Stay in China", Says US. Reuters.

Semple, K. (2011, October 31). Soldier's Death Raises Suspicions in Chinatown. New York Times.

Shirk, Susan. (2008). China: Fragile Superpower: How China's Internal Politics Could Derail Its Peaceful Rise. New York: Oxford University Press.

Wallerstein, I. (2012, January 15) China and the United States: Rivals, Enemies, Collaborators?

Retrieved from http://www.iwallerstein.com/commentaries/

Wang, W. & Zhuang G. eds. (2010). A Brief Characterization of the Chinese Overseas in 2008. Beijing: World Knowledge Publishing Company.

West, D. M. (2011). Creating a "Brain Gain" for U.S. Employers: The Role of Immigration. Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution. Retrieved from http://www.brookings. edu/~/media/Files/rc/papers/2011/01_immigration_west/01_immigration_west. pdf

The World Bank, Development Research Center of the State Council, the People's

Republic of China, (2012). China 2030: Building a Modern, Harmonious, and Creative High-Income Society.

Yang. P. Q. (2011). Asian Immigration to the United States. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Zakria F. (2012, February 26). A GPS Tour of the World's Hotspots.

Zhongguo tongjiju. (2010). Zhongguo tongji nianjian. Beijing: Zhongguo tongji chubanshe.

The Plight of Humanity and the Game of Politics: China's National Image on CNN

Cui Zhang, Charles W. Meadows III and Shuhua Zhou

Abstract

This study employed a content analysis to investigate how China was portrayed in CNN's online coverage in 2008. Results showed that natural disasters were the most frequently covered topic. In terms of deviance, only a small percentage of news stories exhibited this theme, of which social disorder was found to be the most frequently employed deviance type. In regards to public image, China received less negative coverage during humanitarian events such as the Sichuan Earthquake and the Beijing Olympics than during politically charged events like the Tibetan riots and the tainted milk scandal. A significant difference was also found in the frequency of negative images as opposed to positive ones. Overall, CNN portrayed China as a developing nation plagued with problems. Implications for these findings were discussed.

Keywords

China, CNN, international coverage, national image

The Cable News Network (CNN) found itself in the spotlight of the Chinese media and the general public in 2008 due to its coverage of the Tibetan riots in March of that year. Although Tibetan issues had been depicted quite frequently in the U.S. media, it was denounced as biased by the Chinese public and mainstream media. China Daily uncovered evidence that CNN manipulated photos featuring the Chinese military responding to violent civil disobedience in an attempt to mislead the U.S. public (Jun, 2008). The Chinese media received widespread public support in their response to CNN's media coverage. A large proportion of Chinese citizens were convinced that CNN filed biased reports about the riots in Tibet. The dissatisfaction with CNN's coverage of the Tibetan riots even prompted the Chinese government to lodge a formal protest through diplomatic channels against CNN for its coverage.

In spite of the ongoing "biased" portrayal of the Tibetan riots in the U.S. media, the colossal earthquake in the Sichuan province of southwest China resulted in a 180-degree change in tone from many of the U.S. media outlets including CNN. CNN's coverage shifted from criticizing human rights violations to empathizing with victims of the natural disaster. This shift in coverage of CNN raised the question: What underlying mechanism caused the shift?

CNN's coverage also raised questions concerning the portrayal of China's national image in popular U.S. media. Indeed, several recent surveys have noted significant discrepancies between China's self-perceived image and other country's perceptions of China. For example, a 2008 Pew Global Attitudes Survey demonstrated that more than three-quarters of Chinese respondents believed that China was favored abroad (Pew Research Center, 2008). However, public opinion polls from other countries, including the U.S., presented a different picture. A survey by the Chicago Council on Global Affairs indicated that while more than half of the respondents considered China very important to the United States, the overall opinion of China was negative. When respondents were polled to rate their feelings towards China on a one-hundred point scale, the country scored only forty-one (Chicago Council on Global Affairs [CCGA], 2008).

The conflicting findings of these public opinion surveys present a complex image of China that is not at first, easy to unravel. However, to date no previous study has comprehensively examined China's national image in the U.S. media. The current study attempts to bridge the gap by examining how China was portrayed by CNN. The study utilized a content analysis and investigated CNN's coverage of China in terms of news topic, deviance, valence, and major media events, seeking empirical evidence to provide a general picture of China's image abroad and to shed some light on this pertinent issue.

Literature Review

Theoretical Perspective

This study employed framing as the theoretical framework to understand how a foreign country's national image was both formed and impacted by the U.S. media. Lippmann (1922) noted "The world that we have to deal with politically is out of reach, out of sight, out of mind. It has to be explored, reported, and imagined" (p. 7). To explore this world, we turned to media. The media in turn had the power to influence our thinking through the practice of framing. Framing referred to the process whereby individuals developed a particular viewpoint of an issue as a result of consistent media exposure. The development of framing as theoretical perspective and method was initiated by a number of researchers (Entman, 1991; Gitlin, 1980; Goffman, 1974) in a variety of disciplines in an attempt to explain the relationship between the media and issue definition (Tewksbury & Scheufele,

2009). Tuchman (2006) cited the sociologist, Erving Goffman as the founder of the concept of a frame. In his early construction a frame was defined as "the principles of organization which govern events – at least social ones – and our subjective involvement in them" (Goffman, 1974, p. 10-11). He viewed framing as a means or applying interpretive schemas to organize new information.

Gitlin (1980) further defined framing as "persistent patterns of cognition, interpretation, and presentation, of selection, emphasis, and exclusion, by which symbol-handlers routinely organize discourse, whether verbal or visual" (p. 7). This definition provided a more concrete viewpoint of framing and highlighted the cognitive and behavioral duality of frames. Entman (1991) applied the concept of framing to the media. He proposed that framing involved two elements, selection and salience. In framing an issue a reporter had to select a specific element of a news story and increased the overall importance or salience of that element. Salience was commonly defined as the perceived importance of an issue. An increase in salience then led the reader to define or interpret that story by the selected salient element, otherwise known as a "frame". Entman (1991) continued by suggesting that frames occurred along several stages of the communication process. Frames were first found within the conscious or unconscious mind of the reporter in determining how to construct the story. Secondly the stories content (i.e., keywords, images, sources) added another frame to the story which was then processed by the media consumer who transposed an additional frame of interpretation, similar to Chong and Druckman's (2007) "frame of mind" on the story. This third frame consisted of the media consumers' views, cognitive ability, and belief system that was undoubtedly influenced by both culture and society (Entman, 1991).

As noted by Chong and Druckman (2007), the term frame was often used in two ways in media research. First, a media frame referred to "the words, images, phrases, and presentation styles that a speaker (e.g., a politician, a media outlet) used when relaying information about an issue or event to an audience" (p. 100). For example, a CNN reporter covering a 2008 earthquake described Chinese citizens as "…united as a people and more charitable, as citizens pull together in the wake of a massive earthquake" (FlorCruz, 2008). This comment presented a positive image, the unification of Chinese citizens, as the primary frame. The second implementation of framing referred to the reader's "frame of mind" or cognitive perspective regarding a situation or story. In this case it was the reader who was

determining the most important or relevant information within a news story (Chong & Druckman, 2007). In the same example, a reader might entirely ignore the unification frame constructed by the reporter and instead focused on the tragic experiences and causalities highlighted in the story.

The above literature suggested that media frames were a critical part of media production and consumption, providing a schema for analyzing a real world event, and could be found in a number of stages of the communication process.

Framing and National Image

Framing has been used in a number of studies to investigate the relationship between media coverage and national image. The following studies offered an overview of the research examining national image through framing theory. Yu and Riffe (1989) examined the coverage of two Chinese leaders, Mao and Chiang, in the several news magazines. They found that the coverage of international leaders and the countries often changed depending on U.S. foreign policy. Another study by Li (2012) observed the portrayal of China's national image in Australian media. The researcher employed framing theory to analyze two media programs, Foreign Correspondent and Dateline. Results from the study revealed that framing techniques were consciously or unconsciously influencing the current portrayal of China's national image.

A time analysis was conducted by Peng (2004) to identify the most common media frames used to portray the national image of China. The study examined two prominent American newspapers, the New York Times and the Los Angeles Times. From the literature the researcher identified three news frames: the political frame, the ideological frame, and the economic frame. The time analysis revealed that negative frames were the most prominent in both newspapers. Specifically, the unfavorable ideological and political frames were the most commonly employed by the newspapers (Peng, 2004).

The national image of other Asian countries has also been examined in the U.S. Media. A study by Choi (2006) investigated the U.S. newspaper coverage of North Korea between 2001-2003. Within this analysis the researcher discovered that the media portrayed an anti-North Korea frame and as such framed the national image of Korea as "evil, enemy, blackmailer" (p. 2). CBS and CNN, framed the protests as similar to American student demonstrations calling for democracy

and social justice. In contrast the Chinese government was framed negatively as oppressive and Communist. A number of studies have examined specific events in Chinese history. The severe acute respiratory syndrome (SARS) crisis of 2003 was reviewed by Huang and Leung (2005). Once again the researchers examined three American newspapers. Their study revealed that China received mainly bad press while Vietnam was displayed positively in the U.S. media.

From the above studies two inferences can be extracted. First, framing has been employed by numerous studies to examine the portrayal of China and other Asian countries in the U.S. media. Therefore, it is an appropriate to be employed in this study. Secondly, framing has revealed consistent results, mainly that China has been routinely framed in a negative light when researchers have examined mainly negative issues (Tiananmen Square, SARS). As such the analysis of a positive event (i.e., the Beijing Olympics) may reveal different results.

National Image in Mass Media: Visibility and Valence

A nation's image was a complex concept, often associated with public diplomacy and international relations. It was also referred to as "national reputation." Although a large body of research has been conducted in the field of political communications, no consistent definition existed. Boulding (1956) defined a national image as "the total cognitive, affective, and evaluative structure of the behavioral unit, or its internal view of itself and its universe" (p. 120-121). J. Wang (2006) noted that a country's national reputation (image) was comprised of the "collective judgments of a foreign country's image and character" (p. 91). Chow (2008) expanded this definition by incorporating the concept of "images" that a country embodied in its outward presentation to the international community.

Manheim and Albritton (1984) identified two dimensions that defined a foreign country's image in the U.S. media: visibility and valence. Visibility was defined as the total amount of media coverage that a country receives. Visibility lied in a country's importance as well as magnitude and significance of covered events. Prior research has found that countries playing important roles in world affairs might receive more coverage in the U.S. media than minor countries or those in undeveloped regions (Chang, 1998). On the other hand, valence was defined as "the degree to which the content that is available reflects either favorably or unfavorably on the country" (Manheim & Albritton, 1984, p. 645). Visibility and valence combined to form the

overall image of a foreign country. A negative national image resulted from negative valence and low visibility; by contrast, a positive national image formed when a country has both positive valence and high visibility (Manheim & Albritton, 1984, p. 645). As for valence, the present study first introduces the concept of deviance, a major factor influencing valence and a significant component of news worthiness.

Deviance and Reporting Negative News

The saying bad news is good news adequately described the public's fascination with negative news. Reporters and editors have long recognized this relationship and as a result have identified various methods to include negative news elements to increase ratings. A common method used by reporters to attract audience attention was to manipulate the intensity of deviance in a news report (Shoemaker & Cohen, 2006). According to Shoemaker and Cohen (2006), deviance was defined as "A characteristic of people, ideas, or events that sets them aside as different apart from others in their region, community, neighborhood, family, and so on" (p. 7). In addition to attracting attention, deviance has been noted as contributing to the newsworthiness of a story. Stories involving a greater degree of deviance would be perceived as having a higher degree of newsworthiness than those stories that had low degrees of deviance. Deviance could be positive or negative, but most deviance was associated with negative values. Stories could include a varying amount of these two values. The degree of deviance lied in the degree of valence. In other words, the more negative (or positive) an issue was, the higher degree of deviance it contained. Since deviance was associated with newsworthiness, news stories with high negative (or positive) value were likely to be considered by a reporter or editor as appealing (Shoemaker & Cohen, 2006).

Evolutionary theories provided a promising explanation for the media's fixation on inclusion of negative news topics. Humans have developed a complex survival mechanism for the reorganization of possible threats. Shoemaker (1996), for example, argued that human beings are hardwired to process negative news. Evolutionary theories suggested that human beings were constantly surveying the environment for potential threats. Therefore, deviant and negative news could attract more attention from human beings than positive news. Shoemaker, Danielian, and Brendlinger (1991) supported this evolutionary perspective by suggesting that deviant events, politically and economically significant to the U.S., were more

likely to be reported by the U.S. media.

Since the literature suggested that news reporters and editors employed various elements such as deviance to increase viewer attention, and given that CNN was a commercial entity, this study sought to examine if news topics that included high levels of deviance were more frequently reported in CNN's coverage of China than news topics that include low levels of deviance. Therefore, the following research questions are proposed:

RQ$_1$: Which news topics are the most common in CNN's coverage of China?

RQ$_2$: Which news topics include the most deviance?

Media Events: A Dichotomy of Humanity and Politically Associated Incidents

We could not understand a country's image in the U.S. media without investigating specific media events. By analyzing the media events that occurred in 2008, we identified four of the most frequently reported events. They were the Tibetan riots, the Sichuan Earthquake, the Beijing Olympics, and the tainted milk scandal. Two of the events (the Tibetan riots and the tainted milk scandal) were framed as political issues in the media while the other two events (the Sichuan Earthquake and the Beijing Olympics) were framed as humanitarian issues. Thus it is necessary to investigate valence from two dimensions: politically associated issues and humanitarian issues.

When reporting on political issues, research from the past few decades has shown that U.S. media coverage of China often attached a communist label, highlighting the failure of socialism in the country. For example, Akhavan-Majid and Ramaprasad (1998) examined the U.S. and Chinese news coverage of the United Nations Conference on Women and the Non-Governmental Organizations Forum. They concluded that U.S. media used an anticommunist frame, focusing on a criticism of China as a communist nation. This anti-socialist rhetoric employed by the U.S. media has often led the state-run Chinese media to accuse the U.S. of "demonizing" China's national image (Peng, 2004).

In contrast to political events, humanitarian issues such as natural disasters (i.e., earthquakes) and international sporting events (i.e., the Olympics) received more favorable treatment in the U.S. media due to the ability of those issues to transcend national borders and opposing ideologies. Kyriakidou (2008) argued that natural disasters such as the Southeast Asian Tsunami might gather world sympathy and

support due to humankind's altruistic inclinations. A natural disaster, although it might be restricted to one country, was often a worldwide media event, presenting the suffering of human beings, and sharing the traumatic experiences of those citizens affected by the disaster (Hepp & Krotz, 2008). Findings of a focus group analysis by Kyriakidou (2008) suggested that when natural disasters occurred, media audiences felt as though they are part of a trans-cultural community, regardless of where the event occurred. Thus, natural disasters portrayed as global media events, surpassed national identities. Therefore, the disasters of the Southeast Asian Tsunami in 2004, Hurricane Katrina in 2005, as well as the Sichuan Earthquake in 2008 were likely to fall into this category. Similarly, ceremonial events, such as the Olympic Games and the World Cup, seemed to fall into the same category of humanitarian issues. In addition, hosting ceremonial events has been considered effective in enhancing a country's national image in terms of visibility (Giffard & Rivenburgh, 2000).

Thus, this study assumed that natural disasters might attract more attention of CNN to a country due to the unified sense of community or shared empathy, and hosting internationally recognized events, such as the Olympics would increase CNN's positive coverage of China. In contrast, controversial political issues, such as the Tibetan riots and the tainted milk scandal, should decrease CNN's positive coverage of China. Therefore, this study proposes the following hypothesis:

H_1: China will receive less negative coverage during the Sichuan earthquake and the Beijing Olympics than during the Tibetan riots and the tainted milk scandal.

The U.S. Media and CNN

There are several major national networks in the United States, including the American Broadcasting Company (ABC), CBS Broadcasting Inc. (CBS), and the National Broadcasting Company (NBC). There are also national cable news stations including the Cable News Network (CNN), FOX News Channel, MSNBC, and the Consumer News and Business Channel (CNBC). Among them, CNN was a cable news channel founded in 1980 by Ted Turner (Cable News Network [CNN], n.d.). CNN was known as the first all-news television channel and the first channel to provide 24-hour television news coverage. Two major news events were marked as milestones in CNN's history: the live reports of the Gulf War in 1991 and reports of the 9.11 attacks in 2001. The former has made CNN one of the major American channels for the first time in its history. In addition, CNN reporters Bernard Shaw

and others became known by American households because of the reports of the Gulf War from Iraq. After the Iraq War coverage, the term "the CNN effect" has been coined to describe the influence of the swift reaction of news media and the 24-hour news coverage on the decision-making processes of the U.S. government. CNN was also the first cable news channel to cover the 9.11 attacks. In September 11, 2001, CNN's news anchor Carol Lin reported a plane has crashed into one of the towers of the World Trade Center (CNN, 2001). This live report and the subsequent coverage of the 9.11 attacks in 2001 made another milestone media event in CNN's history.

Therefore, CNN was selected as a media source of this study for several reasons. First of all, the CNN digital network was one of the top global news sites. CNN's news website, CNN.com, was launched in 1995 (CNN, n.d.). According to Nielsen NetRatings, CNN.com ranked second place among online global news sites in 2009, followed by Yahoo News, AOL News, NYTimes.com, and Fox News Digital Network (CNN, 2011). Second, CNN was been known for devoting itself to international news. CNN has more than thirty international bureaus including the ones in Beijing, Hong Kong, London, and Tokyo (CNN, 2011). Finally, CNN was chosen because it was in a credibility crisis stage in China and Chinese media in 2008. In March 2008, CNN.com posted a photo depicting people running in front of a military truck when reporting the Tibetan riots. This news photograph was a cropped version of an original photo showing mobsters throwing stones at the military truck. After the publicizing of the news image, there was widespread protest against CNN and its "biased" coverage distorting facts in covering the riot in Lhasa in China. Based on the aforementioned three reasons, CNN was selected as a source of the analysis of the present paper.

China's National Image in the U.S. Media

We provided some examples of coverage of China in U.S. media here to offer a specific picture of China's image in U.S. media. According to CNN's coverage, several months before the opening ceremony of Beijing Olympics, U.S. House Speaker Nancy Pelosi stated "President Bush should consider boycotting the opening ceremony of the Olympics Games in Beijing … to protest China's human rights record" (CNN, 2008). The reporter cited Nancy Pelosi's speech: "If freedom-loving people throughout the world do not speak out against China's oppression in China and Tibet, we have lost all moral authority to speak on behalf of human

rights anywhere in the world" (CNN, 2008). Critics also considered China fell short on Olympic promises (Hadad, 2008). CNN's website has a weekly column about Chinese society and politics named "Jaime's China." The column writer Jaime FloCruz has lived in China for over four decades. He studied Chinese history at Peking University and has worked as TIME Magazine's Beijing correspondent and bureau chief (FlorCruz, 2013). In an article named "China Works Hard to Project Soft Power", FloCruz commented that China has been obsessed to project its soft power (FlorCruz, 2012).

On the other hand, since the 1990s, the Chinese government has placed a great deal of importance on enhancing its national image on the international stage (H. Wang, 2003). For example, the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) established an Overseas Propaganda Department in 1991 to promote a positive image of China. The Chinese government also periodically issued white papers to address problems such as human rights and Tibetan issues in response to international criticisms. In a white paper issued in 2005, China outlined its intentions to rise peacefully on the global stage. "China did not seek hegemony in the past, nor does it and will not do so in the future when it gets stronger… China's development will not pose a threat to anyone; instead it can bring more development opportunities and bigger markets for the rest of the world" (China Internet Information Center, 2005, para. 11). Although China intended to achieve peaceful development, there was a sharp divergence between the American media's portrayal of China and the image projected by the Chinese government. H. Wang (2003) found that the national images promoted by the Chinese government were: "peace-loving, anti-hegemonic force, a major power, an international cooperator, and an autonomous actor" (p. 52). In contrast, the U.S. perceived the national image of China as: socialist, a major world power, militant, an obstructive force, and authoritarian. In addition, issues of human rights, Tibet, and Taiwan were considered to comprise the overall national image of China conveyed by the U.S. media (H. Wang, 2003). These issues and national images were inevitably attached to a political perspective. Such discrepancy between China's projected national image and perceived national image raised the question: How is China portrayed in U.S. media?

The negative rhetoric and overall negative image of China has been noted in several studies. Giffard and Rivenburgh (2000) analyzed the news coverage of six countries hosting global events in order to examine the portrayal of national image.

The study purposefully included three western countries (i.e., Austria, Denmark, and Italy) and three eastern countries (i.e., Brazil, China, and Egypt). Results showed that Western host countries received more positive coverage than Eastern host countries in three prominent Western news agencies. The analysis revealed that China received mainly negative coverage during the Non-Governmental Organization (NGO) conference. Another content analysis by Kim (2000) examined the coverage of two Asian political movements in the 1980s, the South Korea Kwangju and the China Tiananmen movement in two leading U.S. newspapers. Results showed that the newspapers employed harsher language in the coverage of the Tiananmen movement, while using milder language to describe the Kwangju movement in Korea because of the greater ideological distance between China and the U.S. More recently, Liss (2003) performed a content analysis of four major U.S. newspapers' coverage of China. The author found that the negative images of China (e.g., rivalry/impending conflict with the United States, ongoing conflict over Taiwan, human rights abuses, a repressive political system, social unrest, and corruption) were portrayed more frequently than positive images (e.g., rapid economic growth, success of economic and political reform, diplomatic cooperation, and beneficial social changes). It was clear from the literature that the U.S. media present mainly negative images of China. Based on the literature above, it appears as though China is portrayed negatively in the U.S. media. Therefore the following hypotheses are proposed.

H_2: There will be more negatively valenced news stories than positively valenced news stories in CNN's coverage of China.

H_3: There will more negative images than positive images of China in CNN's coverage of China.

Method

Sample

The stories were collected and downloaded from CNN's website. Relevant stories were selected by using the search feature on the website. The keyword "China" was used as the search term. Data was collected over a twelve-month period (January 1-December 31, 2008). Only stories featuring China as the main topic were selected. For example, a story that mentioned China only as a venue for the 2008 Olympic Games was not included due to its weak association with China's image. A total of

312 news stories were selected for the analysis.

The year 2008 was selected mainly because of the Beijing Olympic Games and the overwhelming attention to China in that year. Numerous studies have illustrated that one strategy to enhance national image was to host global media events such as world exhibitions, international conferences, and sporting events (such as the Olympics or the World Cup) (Ashworth & Goodall, 2013; Giffard & Rivenburgh, 2000; Jones, 2001). Therefore the researchers selected an internationally recognized sports event, the 2008 Beijing Olympics, as one focus for the study. The 2008 Beijing Olympics was selected because it represents an issue that warrants scholarly attention. As noted above, the image of foreign nations and public opinion was often constructed through the media and manipulated through framing. In addition, China was in a constant process of attempting to improve its national image and warrants continued examination of its failures and successes (H. Wang, 2003).

Coding Scheme

The six overarching categories were adapted from the news-coding scheme constructed by Shoemaker and Cohen (Shoemaker & Cohen, 2006). The unit of analysis was each news story. The following is a brief description of these measurements.

Topic. Although the original topic list created by Shoemaker and Cohen (2006) consisted of twenty-six topics, only eight topics were found to be relevant to the sample. All categories used in this study were mutually exclusive, independent, and exhaustive (Table 1).

Table 1

News Topics Featured in CNN Stories
1. Chinese Politics
2. Economics
3. Environments
4. Disaster/Accidents
5. Military & Defense
6. Press
7. Social Disorder
8. Sports
9. Other

Deviance in the news. Shoemaker and Cohen (2006) postulated that there were three types of deviance: statistical, social and normative. The researchers adapted the following definitions for these three variables to properly analyze the data. Statistical deviance as defined by Shoemaker and Cohen (2006) was "an idea, person, or event that is very different from the average in being odd, unusual, or novel" (p. 14). For the purposes of this study the researchers defined statistical deviance as involving human injury in excess of 1,000 or fatalities in excess of one-hundred. This definition was altered after considering the total population size of China. Social deviance refers to "ideas, people, or events challenge the status quo of the social system" (Shoemaker & Cohen, 2006, p. 14). News stories were only coded as social deviance when the change actually occurred. The final variable, normative deviance, was defined as "the breaking of norms and laws" (Shoemaker & Cohen, 2006, p. 13). In this particular study, news stories were coded as having normative deviance when laws were broken. All three variables were coded in a binary (yes/no) fashion.

Valence. According to Manheim and Albritton (1984), valence referred to the degree to which the news story reflects favorably or unfavorably on the country. A positive national image was often perceived from the coverage of progress, prosperity, resources, solidarity, and trustworthiness (K. Wang & X. Wang, 2007). For example, a news story focusing on China's rapid economic growth would be considered positive. In contrast, negative coverage was defined as "reporting of instances of retreat, weakness, instability, inefficiency, and untrustworthiness" (K. Wang & X. Wang, 2007, p. 4). For example, the Tibetan riots might be perceived as manifestation of the instability and social unrest of the country. Neutral stories contained neither positive nor negative elements or presented a balanced view of positive and negative information.

Trigger events. The focus on trigger events of each story was particularly of interest in this study. A trigger event was a cue-to-action event at a specified point in time and served to focus the public's attention and salience in the media (Cobb & Elder, 1973). In addition, the literature has shown that spectacular trigger events played a dominant role in projecting an event or issue in the U.S. media (Dearing & Rogers, 1996). To identify key trigger events in the sample, we used an inductive process of identifying analytical categories as they emerge from data (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). Due to the frequency in which they appeared in the news reports in

CNN and their significance to China, four trigger events were identified: the Tibetan riots, the Sichuan earthquake, the Beijing Olympics, and the tainted milk scandal. A story was coded once for the trigger events category. We included two humanitarian events (the Sichuan Earthquake and the Beijing Olympics) and two political events (the Tibetan riots and the tainted milk incident) to balance the sample.

   Overall national image. A review of the literature revealed that national image was a multi-dimensional concept. The literature suggested that a schism existed between the national image projected by the Chinese government and the perception of China's national image by other countries. H. Wang (2003) found that the Chinese government sought to project a number of pro-Chinese images, such as: peace loving, victim of foreign aggression, bastion of revolution, anti-hegemonic force, major power, international cooperator, and autonomous actor. U.S. citizens were found to attribute mainly negative images such as: socialist, developing, major power, militant, obstructive force, authoritarian, human right violators, anti-Tibet, and environmentally negligent (H. Wang, 2003). After careful deliberation, this study developed five categories (rich in tradition, superpower, developing nation plagued with problems, authoritarian, and fast development) to identify the national image of China as characterized in CNN online news stories. Because of drastic contrast in the perception of China (positive vs. negative) depending on the country of origin, the researchers chose categories that could represent both positive and negative images. Details of these images are found in below:

Table 2

Details of Image Frames
1. Developing nation: Portrays widespread problems relating to development.
2. Fast development: Emphasizes rapid economic growth.
3. Oppressive or authoritarian: Presents oppressive or authoritarian government and associated mistreatment of citizens and/or foreigners.
4. Rich in tradition: Includes historical or cultural events in regards to China.
5. Super power: Emphasizes role as major world power, connections and relationships with other nations.

Coding procedure

Two coders were assigned to this study. Both coders were trained in coding procedures, and all discrepancies in coding were resolved in several subsequent meetings. Krippendorff's Alpha was used to determine the intercoder reliability (Hayes & Krippendorff, 2007). The overall intercoder reliability values ranged from .78 to 1.00. In the final analysis one of the images, superpower was eliminated from the analysis because of its unsatisfactory intercoder reliability ($\alpha = .47$).

Results

RQ1 asked which news topics were the most prominent in CNN's coverage of China in 2008. Natural disasters (25%) were portrayed the most frequently, followed by social disorder stories (24%). The environment/energy/pollution topics were mentioned the least (1%). Frequencies for the other eight topics are reported in Table 3.

Table 3

Frequency of News Topic		
News Topic	Frequency	Percentage %
Natural disaster/accidents/epidemics	77	24.7
Social disorder	75	24.0
Other topics	43	13.8
Chinese politics and government	35	11.2
Sports	32	10.3
Economics/business/commerce/industry	30	9.6
Military and defense	10	3.2
Press	7	2.2
Environmental/energy/pollution	3	1.0
Total	312	100.0